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European war: Sermons

Grounds of Hope in the
Changing World-Order

BY

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GROUNDS OF HOPE IN THE CHANGING WORLD-ORDER ---

And they shall bring the glory and the honor of the nations into it. Rev. 21:26.

The ancient Hebrew prophet in calamitous days was a foreteller, for the most part, only in the proportion in which he was guided by moral insight and religious faith. It was these that made him sure that "the morning cometh." The main grounds of our confidence, too, are here, as we attempt to forecast a little what we may believe lies just ahead in the present world crisis.

In any case there should be *no underestimation of the gravity of that crisis*. There has been a great change even within the year since we gathered here for a similar world survey. Both the nature and the seriousness of the crisis are more clear. It still seemed then, that the conflict might be confined to the eastern hemisphere. Now the United States is fully involved, and with a sure sense of the greatness of the issues for which she

fighths, as well as of the struggle entered upon. So keen an observer as Mr. Hoover thinks we must be prepared for a war that may continue for from two to five years longer. As one press correspondent puts it, "a tyranny that has taken so many years to gather strength and has fortified itself by every possible mixture of brute force and science, is not easily broken." The submarine threat is still ominous, even if diminishing. The possibility of a separate Russian peace—with its disastrous consequences—is not yet definitely precluded. The situation is all the more critical, because many pacifists in many lands seem blind to the baleful meaning of a German triumph, both for peace, and for every righteous cause bearing upon a permanent peace.

With the whole atmosphere of these college anniversary days inevitably pervaded with the perplexing thought of war, we can hardly help seeking anew some interpretation of this world struggle, some better understanding, if possible, of the issues, trends and hopes involved. Such an interpretation and understanding may perhaps be furthered if we take as

our specific theme *Grounds of Hope in the Changing World-Order*.

I. *The changing world-order.*

That changing world-order may be said to have as its outstanding characteristics—which I may only pause to name—a constantly intensifying world-solidarity; prodigiously increased resources of power and wealth and knowledge; forced scientific coöperation and organization on a scale and to a degree never before seen; the appearance of a relatively new philosophy of the state, making it superior to all morals; the destructive use of scientific knowledge and forces; an almost world-wide trend toward democracy; and—still more recently—a league of nations to enforce peace already in existence; and a new and actual internationalism, with a supernational control of the world's necessities. What do these characteristics of the age mean for the ideal,—for the Christian, interests of the race?

II. *A world crisis.*

Of these characteristic world phenomena, three—the trend toward democracy, the league of nations to enforce peace, and the new internationalism—we may believe will posi-

tively help to a more Christian civilization, to a new epoch for humanity.

Three others—world-solidarity, the prodigiously increased resources of power and wealth and knowledge, and the forced coöperation—are ambiguous in their character; for they may be used for good or evil. They are problems for the ideal interests to solve, powerful forces to be mastered.

The remaining two—the German philosophy of the state, and the destructive use of modern science—are utterly hostile to a Christian civilization. And it is this situation which produces the present world crisis.

To consider these hostile forces first. Prussia set herself deliberately to build up a selfish aggressive state, regardless of the interests of other nations. She had three short profitable wars of selfish aggression, against Austria, Denmark and France, ending in the establishment of the German Empire, Prussia and the Kaiser dominating. These selfishly profitable wars tended of themselves to corrupt her intellectual and moral integrity at its source, for they set her to defend and justify a wicked prosperity, quite in the spirit of the char-

acteristic cynicism of Frederick the Great, who said: "I begin by taking; I can always find pedants to prove my rights afterwards." Germany proceeded thus to develop with her customary thoroughness an apology for such wars.

Building on Kant and Hegel, she exalted the associated life above the personal in such a way, as to make the state supreme, itself a source of all law and therefore above all moral obligations—a conception which cannot be thought through even for God himself.

She built, too, on a false evolution theory of "the survival of the fittest," as justifying power as the sole decisive factor. Might was literally to make right. In Treitschke's words: "Among all political sins the sin of feebleness is the most contemptible. It is the political sin against the Holy Ghost."

Helped probably by the Nitzschean doctrine of the superman, she further developed her unspeakably arrogant view of the German as a superrace, so superlatively gifted as to afford to blot out all the contributions of other races; of a KULTUR, so transcendent as to make its dominance over the

world the highest good of the race. The expressions of this arrogance have been such as to constitute nothing less than an indecent moral exposure of the attitude of a great people. And it should be said at once that they contain a solemn warning against a similar Anglo-Saxon pride and desire to dominate, especially as to the colored races. Our talk of "the white man's burden," and of "lesser breeds without the law," means that the Anglo-Saxons too are in great danger of not being fair to the colored races, as we must certainly learn to be. Our common American attitude toward Japanese and Chinese and Negroes is altogether too much like that of the German toward the rest of the races of the world.

The result of Germany's political apologetic is such a philosophy of the state and of her own national life and destiny, as can be made to justify any wickedness whatever, however hideous, if it be supposed to help to success—to be expedient for the state. This is nothing less than the deification of a monstrous immorality that scouts all Christian virtues.

There has naturally followed the demoniacally ingenious destructive

use of scientific forces that threatens the very existence of any decent civilization. How new, in this generation, is this philosophy of the state—this revival of Machiavelli—is to be seen in Germany's own changed attitude. Contrast the proclamation of Emperor William I to his troops in the Franco-Prussian war:

We are not making war on the peaceable citizens of France, and the first duty of the loyal soldier is to protect private property and not let the high reputation of our army be stained by the commission of any isolated act showing lack of discipline. I expect of you that you will conduct yourselves with honor in the enemy's country.

Not less enlightening is the still more recent testimony of Baron von Bieberstein at the Hague Conference, when the question of mines was under discussion:

Military action is not solely governed by the stipulations of international law. There are other factors. Conscience, good sense, and the feeling of the duties imposed by the principles of humanity, will be the safest guide for the conduct of sailors and will afford the most effective guarantees against abuse. Officers of

the German navy, I proclaim it loudly, will always fulfil in the strictest manner the duties which result from the unwritten law of humanity and civilization.

This war thus becomes a war for the preservation not only of a Christian, but even of a decent, civilization, and has *two outstanding but closely related issues*: first, *nations as well as individuals are subject to moral law*, to Christian standards and ideals; second, *the destructive forces of modern science must be placed under moral as well as under scientific control*. As Reinach has put it: "Science as subservient to the will to destroy, must be put in chains; science must be exclusively adapted to the works of peace." Otherwise, as he says, we shall have "the whole of civilization falling a victim to science her dearest daughter."

It is in line with this thought that the *New Republic* speaks of "our enemy the submarine," as concretely embodying that against which we fight. As the editor says:

Should Germany be victorious, chiefly as a consequence of the submarine attack on commerce, should the world as it emerges from the war not be organized to

prohibit or discourage the kind of destruction and the kind of terrorism which is now being wrought on the high seas, then the American democracy will be vanquished and its survival endangered no matter what flag is saluted in Metz, Warsaw, Constantinople, or Bagdad, and no matter what fate befalls the Romanoffs and the Hohenzollerns.

These two great issues involve all the others of which President Wilson has spoken. For the great silent assumption back of both these issues is the central Christian conviction of the inviolable sacredness of every human soul. And this principle is held to be applicable in the sphere of nations as well as of individuals. No nation or race, as no person, may be treated as a mere means or convenience by another. Every nation or race is an end in itself.

From this principle there follows *the necessity of national self-respect and of mutual respect among the nations*, and so the sacredness of a true national self-defense when these great issues of civilization and Christianity are at stake.

It is a sound instinct, therefore, which sees in our controversy with Germany concerning the submarine,

the essence of the world war and the question of the possibility of the existence of a truly democratic nation. *The world must be made, thus, safe for democracy*, as the President has said, as it cannot be if such a theory and practice as those of Germany are to prevail; if any innocent neutral nation may be subjected to such unspeakable outrage as that to which Belgium has been subjected, at the mere arbitrary whim or pleasure of another nation. In that sense—not in the sense of dictating its form of government to another people—the present war is a war of democracy against autocracy, for the whole theory of the divine right of kings is utterly at variance with democracy.

The war becomes, thus, in the next place, *a fight for liberty*, for the liberties of the race, political, economic and social; a fight for freedom of conscience, for freedom of thought, for freedom of speech, for freedom of investigation. For all these have the same great moral and religious root in the sacredness of humanity. We are fighting, therefore, *to preserve the fruits of a Christian civilization*, and in that issue Christianity is vitally concerned. This is no mere

political or diplomatic quarrel between ambitious people. It is a war for the very essence of Christian civilization.

It becomes, thus, in turn *a war to end war*. Because it cannot any longer be held tolerable that the selfish aggression of one nation or group of nations should be free to jeopardize the whole world civilization. The very solidarity of the world, so marked to-day, forbids. Is the world now to show that it has brains enough and morals enough and faith enough, to harness to constructive ends the tremendous forces now in men's hands, and to defend itself against a ruthlessly and selfishly aggressive power?

These, then, are *the great issues of this world war*—a war in which it is to be decided that nations as well as individuals are subject to moral law; and that the destructive forces of modern science are to be put under moral as well as under scientific control; and, in consequence, a war for national self-respect, and for mutual respect among the nations; a war to make the world safe for democracy; a war for the liberties of the race; and a war to end war. In very truth we stand at a world crisis. As Mr. Britling puts it: "This is the end and

the beginning of an age. This is something far greater than the French revolution . . . and we live in it."

III. *Grounds of hope in this crisis.*

What now are the grounds of hope in this supreme crisis?

1. We may rejoice, first of all, that *the issues are clearing*, that the great ends are coming out, that the significant trends in this world struggle are becoming clear. This itself is a cause for hope,—that we are beginning to be able to trace some law and order in the chaos, and therefore becoming able to act both intelligently and unselfishly.

2. As a consequence, it is a further ground for hope that *the present world situation can be seen to be no accident, no mysterious divine providence, but a logical moral outcome of what preceded*. We are being compelled to see the logical consequences of the positions of the nations, and that on a world-wide scale. The inescapable consequences of Christian and of anti-Christian policies are becoming unmistakably manifest. We must choose between them. The inevitable final results to all men, of exclusive national selfishness and of immeasurable national arrogance, are to be

read in Belgium and Armenia. The folly, the ultimate impossibility, and the terrors of an anti-Christian philosophy of the state are to be seen, too, in that indescribably desolated Belgium and France and in outraged Armenia, demonstrable to every sense and faculty of man. For there has been there made a veritable hell on earth, in which life is not worth living. There is here revealed, not merely the savagery of barbarism, but a deliberately adopted, scientifically developed, and philosophically defended fiendish terrorism, infinitely more threatening than native barbarism.

The terrible consequences upon the perpetrators themselves bear witness. Is there any spectacle more terrible than that a Christian nation should be proud of the desolation which it has produced, (witness the legend on the ruins of France—"Do not curse; just wonder") and be morally blind to its own shame and to the abhorrence which it has awakened in the rest of the civilized world? Out of this same national arrogance and selfishness has grown Germany's utter inability to read any other people aright.

But it should be remembered at the same time that the progress of events in this war is bringing out with similar increasing clearness all the inconsistencies of the Allies. Wherever there has been unfair treatment of other races; wherever there has been failure in a true democracy, there the Allies too are forced to face a new challenge. Ireland and India and Persia and Finland and the Balkans and Madagascar, our own treatment of colored races, and unwarranted Italian ambitions, all demand to be faced. It is a day of world judgment. "There is nothing covered up, that shall not be revealed; and hid, that shall not be known." And such a day of judgment is at the same time a day of hope.

3. *The terribleness of the cost of the struggle* is for religious faith, as I have elsewhere said, also a ground of hope. That the cost in money of this single war should months ago have been more than twice the total debt of the world in 1914, and have now grown to more than eighty billion dollars; that nations with more than a billion of population should already be directly involved in the war, —these are only external signs of the

still more terrible cost in physical and mental anguish, in loss of life and in waste of moral resources. Men's own indignant sense of this awful price will demand that the future shall show some corresponding advances. We can hardly believe in the overruling providence of God at all, and not look for commensurate gains for the race. Surely such immeasurable sacrifice, however blind it may have been at given points, is not, under God, to be poured out in vain.

4. Nor are we to leave out of consideration as a reason for hope *the lasting value of the extensive peace propaganda which preceded the war*. That has undoubtedly opened the eyes of men, as they have never been opened before, to the barbaric brutality, to the terrible and manifold cost of war, and to the challenge which it brings to all rational civilization and to every ideal interest. At best this war must be felt to be—what some one has declared it—“the savagery of civilization on the march to save the world from the civilization of savagery.” However short-sighted some pacifists may be, the great essentials of the peace propaganda were sound, and they ought to

help all the nations, and America especially, to hate war, to keep free from war madness, to retain sense of proportion, and to cherish a deep care for a better civilization than the world yet knows. This actual letter of a young English aviator to a German mother brings home to one the awful cross-purposes in which men are involved in war, and steels our souls anew to the determination that war shall cease:

It's your son. I know you can't forgive me, for I killed him. But I want you to know he didn't suffer. The end came quickly. He was very brave. He must also have been very good. He had your picture in his pocket. I am sending it back, tho I should like to keep it. I suppose I am his enemy, yet I don't feel so at all. I'd give my life to have him back. I didn't think of him or you when I shot at his machine. He was an enemy spying out our men. I couldn't let him get back to tell his news. It meant death to our men. . . . My mother died when I was quite a little boy. But I know what she would have felt if I had been killed. War isn't fair to women. God! how I wish it were over. It is a nightmare. . . .

For the first time, I'm almost

glad my mother isn't living. She could not have borne what I have done. My own heart is heavy. I felt it was my duty. Yet now when I see your son lifeless before me and hold your picture in my hand, it all seems wrong. The world is dark. O Mother, be my mother just a little, too, and tell me what to do.—HUGH.

It is quite possible to believe that a nation must take its part in this war, and still to believe that war is an essentially evil thing. It is an English publicist who says:

I avow myself an extreme pacifist! I do not merely want to end this war, I want to nail down war in its coffin. Modern war is an intolerable thing. . . . It is disaster. It may be a necessary disaster, . . . but for all that I insist it remains waste, disorder, disaster.

To these words a thoughtful American has added:

It is in hearty accord with the spirit of this statement of Wells that some pacifists enter this war, not exultant, buoyantly shouting for our country's flag, but soberly, consecrated to a magnificent charge, but nevertheless humiliated, because war has come only as an accusation, a great indictment against us all, and America especially, that would-be

Republic of Man, because we have not made manifest quickly enough our high destiny among the nations, have not realized to the limit even of today's human capacity the possibilities of our consecrated democracy.

In that speaks a true pacifism that faces the facts on both sides; that sees both the terror of war, and the still greater terror of an ignoble surrender of the fruits of all Christian civilization.

5. It is also a ground for hope in the present crisis that *the issues are seen to be at bottom so thoroughly moral and religious and even Christian*. While this fact itself adds to the gravity of the crisis, it at the same time manifestly increases its significance. Here is no mere blind brute struggle. We need not believe "that a majority of civilized mankind is fighting and sacrificing, all without reason and significance for human progress." On the contrary, as we have seen, interests of the highest conceivable order are involved in this war; so involved that it is neither travesty nor exaggeration to call this war on the part of America a truly Holy War. For grave as the crisis is, we may expect the reason and con-

science of the race to reassert themselves. We may believe that national moral blindness and self-stultification are not permanently to continue.

6. That means, in the next place, that we may believe that *the war contains in itself the incidental opportunity for a great world advance toward a more Christian civilization.* For the enormous tasks that the war has compelled, we may hope, will kindle the imagination and enlist energy for still greater constructive world tasks to follow. As Lloyd George said to a labor deputation:

Don't always be thinking of getting back to where you were before the war. *Get a really new world.* I firmly believe that what is known as the after-the-war settlement will direct the destinies of all classes for generations to come. I believe the settlement after the war will succeed in proportion to its audacity. The readier we are to cut away from the past the better we are likely to succeed. Think out new ways, new methods, of dealing with old problems. I hope no class will be harking back to the pre-war conditions. If every class insists upon doing that then God help this country. *Get a new world.*

In this new world, we may hope that

there will be a completer mastery over the ambiguous forces of civilization we noted—the solidarity of the world life, the enormously increased resources of power and wealth and knowledge; the extent of forced co-operation; and, also, a more consistent working through of the positively helpful characteristics of the world-order—the democratic trend, the league to enforce peace, and the new internationalism.

All this should lead to great social gains, and to the permeation of all civilization with the spirit, the standards, and ideals of Christ—a true conquest of Christ over individuals, classes, institutions, nations, and races.

7. In particular, then, as we try to forecast that new world, *we may expect, as we have noted, a completer mastery of those ambiguous forces of civilization.*

(1) First of all, *men are called to live a world-life as never before.* For the world is increasingly one. Improved methods of transportation and communication—no one of them more than one hundred years old—have insured it. We are habituated to migrations, compared to which great historic racial migrations were small af-

fairs. The races are mingled in a way that intensifies all race problems. The spread of western civilization all over the world has forced in no small degree both a commercial and an intellectual solidarity, bringing everywhere the challenge of the scientific spirit and of some measure of the social consciousness. The press is making men at remote distances think and feel together. Wireless telegraphy and wireless telephony give promise of the day when all men shall be in touch with one another the world over. Life has a complexity of relations not to be escaped.

And this solidarity of the world the war has so demonstrated as to have compelled America to abandon its settled policy of isolated neutrality, and to take on the cause of the Allies in its larger aspects as unmistakably its own cause. We know now, as never before, that mankind is one, and that when one member suffers all must suffer with it. Now, if this solidarity of the world is mastered by the forces of righteousness, then we may look forward to a life larger, more complex, richer, more significant than men have ever yet known,—a life to which all races and nations shall con-

tribute their best. For of that new City of God, it could then be truly said: "They shall bring the glory and honor of the nations into it." For such a mastered and glorified world-solidarity we may hope; for it we are to be ready.

(2) That there has been in the last century such *enormous increase in the world's resources of power and wealth and knowledge*, constitutes, again, a great challenge to the moral and religious forces. That these resources were far greater than men thought, and that they can be used for the most hideous wrong, this war is a demonstration. And it is not less a demonstration, that the world must learn to bring these resources under moral control, unless civilization itself is to come to an end. The very desperateness of the world's necessity here is a ground of hope. For we may well believe, from the way in which the world has become arrayed against the Central Powers and their philosophy of ruthless frightfulness—three-quarters of the total population of the globe, enemies of the Teutonic Powers—that the human race is awaking to the appalling consequences of that philoso-

phy, and that this question is finally to be decisively settled, through the assertion of international moral control over all these resources. Their very power both for good and evil has forced the present war upon us, and it cannot be settled except through a reassertion of the moral mastery of all resources and forces. To be true to that requirement, requires stern self-judgment by the Allies, as well as by the Central Powers.

(3) In the next place, *forced co-operation and organization*, already so characteristic of the world-order, has been carried out during the war on an unheard-of scale. The very solidarity of the world implies it. The exigencies of the war have forced co-operation to a far greater extent, both on the individual belligerents and on groups of belligerents. The degree to which we must coöperate with one another whether we will or no, is to be seen, too, in the singularly illogical fact, that the belligerents are using even in war the results of the scientific work of one another. The dire threat of the domination of the world by a reactionary autocracy and an anti-Christian philosophy of the state, has also compelled coöperation

on the part even of the western hemisphere, to an extent undreamed of at the beginning of the war. This co-operation has been seen in humaner guise in the wide-spread relief work all over the world. And the lessons of the war are certain to compel on the part of individual nations, in the stern conditions following the war, rational co-working on a scale never before prevailing in times of peace.

There has even occurred what Mr. Wells has called "*a demilitarization of war.*" The dependence upon engineers of every sort, upon railroad operators and commercial organizers and food directors and providers, is all evidence of this demilitarization. This seems to promise for the future "not so much the conversion of men into soldiers as the socialization of the economic organization of the country with a view to both national and international necessities. We do not want to turn a chemist or a photographer into a little figure like a lead soldier, moving mechanically at the word of command, but we do want to make his chemistry or photography swiftly available if the national organization is called upon to fight. We have discovered that the

modern economic organization is in itself a fighting machine." President MacLaurin of Massachusetts Institute of Technology has confirmed this view of Mr. Wells in a recent statement, that the army officers who carefully inspected the Massachusetts Institute declared that the Institute was giving nothing that would not be of value to the army engineer, and that there was comparatively little that would need to be added to their course for full military engineering training. This has a real element of encouragement in it, for it suggests that where the needs of peace are completely provided for, there is already comparative preparedness for the necessities of war.

In the line of this forced coöperation, it is also to be noted that coöperation on an enormous scale is certain to be called for, and is already planned, in the reconstruction of Europe, especially in Belgium and France and Poland and Russia and the Balkans. The illustrations which the war affords all show that this forced coöperation can be used for either good or evil.

The war has brought, in every belligerent country, great dangers to the

liberties of the people. Lord Bryce, as *The Nation* says, may well warn us all "against a new autocratic danger—the state. Shall we overturn Kaiserism and Czarism only to find that the state is no longer the servant, but the master of the people, cunningly entrapping them into the loss of freedom by the lure of industrial and military and civic efficiency?" "Heaven save us from imitating Prussia."

Now it is of prime importance for the progress of the race after the war—and this is the heart of much controversy—that a sharp discrimination should be made between those forms of coöperation and state-action that tend to check and repress individual initiative, and those that definitely encourage such initiative and seek the best and largest contribution from each citizen and state and nation. It is one thing to resist innovations, adopted for the period of the war, which threaten personal liberty after the war. It is quite another, in a mere standpat attitude, to resist innovations which consist in a remodeling of our national and international organization "so that it operates more

efficiently and more humanely." Bertrand Russell is, thus, surely right, when he insists: "It is not the weakening of impulse that is to be desired, but the direction of impulse towards life and growth rather than towards death and decay." One of the great issues of this war, therefore, as we have seen, is the decision that these enormous powers of forced coöperation and organization are to be guided by a deep sense of the need of individual free initiative, and to be used for the constructive enterprises of the kingdom of God, for the true progress of the race. We have reason to believe that this is to be increasingly true. For

8. A special ground of hope is to be found in *the positively helpful factors*, noted in the changing world-order—the democratic trend, the virtual existence already of a league of nations to enforce peace, and the new actual internationalism.

(1) First of all, *the general trend, the world over, toward democracy*, is most notable. Every nation, even in Asia, except Afghanistan, is living under some form of constitution. China, with its immense territory and population, has become re-

publican, even if unstably so. The Russian revolution, in spite of the anxieties it stirs, was a prodigious achievement in itself, and prophetic of similar changes elsewhere. Everywhere the war bids fair, with simple justice, to extend the suffrage and the recognition of the rights of the common people among all the belligerents. The sweeping changes in the suffrage which are planned in England, including its extension to women, and the bringing of India into the Imperial Conference, are illustrations. Situations inconsistent with an essentially democratic viewpoint, men more and more feel are not to be defended. Even in Germany democratic aspirations have found vigorous utterance. Maxmilian Harden speaks undoubtedly for many Germans when he says:

Because our existence depends on it—demands it—must we go toward democracy. There is democracy all around; who dares stop the wheel of history? The union of peoples is on the way; do we wish to freeze outside?

Scheidemann, leader of the majority of the Socialist Party in the Reichstag, declares:

The whole world sees among

our enemies more or less developed forms of democracy, and in us it sees only Prussians.

Ledebour dared to say in the Reichstag: "We regard a republic as a coming inevitable development in Germany."

An equally prominent English publicist similarly remarks:

The stars in their courses, the logic of circumstances, the everyday needs and everyday intelligence of man, all these things march irresistibly towards a permanent world peace based on democratic republicanism.

(2) Moreover, it is not too much to say—and it is a most significant and encouraging fact—that, now that the cause of the Allies is cleared of the gross inconsistency of the Russian autocracy, a league of nations to enforce peace is already in existence. As one of our most thoughtful editors puts it:

The league of peace exists sooner than any of us dared to hope. What was a paper plan and a theoretic vision two years ago, is today a reality. The liberal peoples of the world are united in a common cause.

(3) It is of even deeper significance, that, as the war has spread and the needs of the world have be-

come greater, a new internationalism has arisen, and a supernational control of necessities has been practically forced upon the Allies. The *New Republic's* statement must impress the thinking man:

What is being arranged in Washington these days is really a gigantic experiment in internationalism. For the first time in history the food supply, the shipping, the credit, and the manpower of the nations are to be put under something like joint administration. We are witnessing the creation of a supernational control of the world's necessities. The men who are charged with conducting this war are now compelled to think as international statesmen. The old notions of sovereignty no longer govern the facts. Three of the unifying forces of mankind are at work—hunger, danger and a great hope. They are sweeping into the scrap heap the separatist theories that nations should be self-sufficing economically and absolutely independent politically. . . . A new and more powerful machinery of internationalism is being created. It is a true internationalism because it deals not with dynastic and diplomatic alliances but with the coöperative control of those vital supplies on which human life depends. . . .

This is the birth of the League of Nations.

Such internationalism opens up a vision of a new world. For the problems here forced by the war are in truth always the only less critical problems of peace also. The earth and the race are perfectly capable of producing an adequate supply of all that men need, the world over. Famines anywhere are truly unnecessary. The great problems of peace are these same problems of an humane and scientific control of production, distribution and consumption. Here is opportunity for men's highest powers in times of peace; here, a great challenge for that liberation of human energies in peaceful outlets for which Bertrand Russell pleads.

The United States, we believe and hope (says another editor), is already permanently a member of an international federation that will finally, in some form or other, embrace all progressive countries, and decide at a joint council table, those questions which involve conflict of interests.

9. *In the war itself.* The war itself, in its progress, has brought out most valuable lessons with unmistak-

able plainness—lessons that suggest new hopes for men.

(1) For one thing, the power of education has been conclusively demonstrated. We speak of having to fight Germany's steadily built up military power. But that power has rested back upon a philosophy of the state, which has been drilled into a submissive people for fifty years by persistent education at every stage. That kind of education we certainly do not desire, that calls out from every citizen the same formulas and the same gesture. But the *power* of education is there strikingly evinced.

(2) Germany has shown, too, the great value for national unity and loyalty of a painstaking social integration which has every citizen in mind. It is Germany's most valuable lesson.

(3) Great Britain—the best colonizing nation—has profited immensely in this war by previous considerate treatment of her colonies.

(4) All the belligerents have shown the value of earnest grappling with intoxicants and—chiefly by the dire results of a let-alone policy—with prostitution as well. From the mere point of view of military effi-

ciency, these evils are indescribably costly.

(5) Russia's revolution—illustrated so vividly in the return of the exiles from Siberia—came as a great light out of darkness, and gave hope that God was to overrule even this demoniacal war to some great and good ends. Free Russia's renouncing for herself all territorial annexations and indemnities, gives promise of an internationalization of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, and of some possible solution of the Balkan question.

(6) No single event in this world war has been more significant than *America's entrance into the war*. While it reveals the gravity of the crisis, it also brings a new hope. There are here many elements of encouragement.

We may all be glad, in the first place, that America came in only after long and unmatched patience; that she came in, in most disinterested fashion, and when the greatness of the issues had become clear; and that in this war, in which she had not only no selfish material gains to seek, but must participate at immense cost, she can still present so united a

front. For this all means that she can strengthen the more liberal elements among the Allies, and stand powerfully for truly just and disinterested aims at the final settlement. For let no one suppose that the Allies can achieve a genuine triumph over Germany and a permanent peace, without a moral triumph over themselves, in abjuring all resentful punishment and in doing justice to *all* small nations, not merely those under the Central Powers. As the English Brailsford says:

There are those who contemplate five years of a penal and hostile peace, a time for boycotts and punishments. . . . The five penal years would bring no healing, and at their end we should be farther from the League of Nations than we are on the battlefields of today. The hope of the world is in our grasp. At the settlement of this war we may realize it. If that moment escapes us, we and our children may expiate our cowardice and our indecision in an epoch which will turn to revolution as a mild alternative to war.

We are nearer to our goal than we know. In both camps men have fought for it, died for it, and slain each other to realize it. The enduring peace is the hope

which has sustained the enemy's soldiers no less than our own. The will to realize it is more massive and more general than the will for strife. The future of Europe is irredeemably dark only to the pessimist who has seen in this war nothing but the working of forces of destruction.

Now to a settlement like that, America can greatly help, just because of her previous isolation and of the disinterested spirit in which she has undertaken the war.

We may be proud too of the confidence which both France and England have reposed in us in feeling it unnecessary to bind us by specific treaties. And our freedom here must be held to be vital for the interests of all.

Thoughtful Americans may well rejoice also in the opportunity which they may believe the war itself affords to clear up the inconsistencies of our own democracy, industrial and social as well as political. It will have to be made indubitable, before the Allies can truly win, that the charge still made by many socialists, that this war is a capitalistic war, is at least, so far as America and the Allies are concerned, demonstrably false. And that cannot be shown if

a class selfishness is to prevail. To adopt the conclusion of one of our ablest editorial writers: "Capitalist societies will have to be humanized or they will perish."

The steps taken by the Government in the conduct of the war have much to warrant hope.

There is, certainly, no occasion for pessimism. For the men in responsible charge "are showing," as another has said, "at almost every turn that they desire expert assistance, and that they are eager to distil the best experience of Europe." There has never been so intelligent and organized an attempt by an American Government to enlist for the nation unselfish service of a high order. This is shown, for example, in the Council of Defense and its Advisory Commission, and in the Advisory Commission Committees—drawing on experts in every line like Howard E. Coffin, Julius Rosenwald, and Bernard M. Baruch; in the organization of the plans for food conservation under Mr. Hoover and his large staff of able volunteer workers; in the spirit infused into the plans of the Committee on Public Information under Mr. Creel; in the Shipping

Board; as well as at many other points. All this evinces a *conscription of the brains of the nation* that is most hopeful.

Plans of taxation have been vigorously urged by men of wealth themselves, that call for an exceedingly heavy tax upon war profits, and a rapidly progressive income tax as well. At the same time, the Government seems determined that men are not to be allowed to get rich in this war out of speculation in the necessities of their fellow citizens. The large extent, too, to which it is proposed that the load of the war shall be carried by this generation, is a wholesome tendency, though it may be carried out in too drastic a fashion. For it will not allow any of us to shut our eyes to the frightful cost of war, and to the extent to which all else must be sacrificed to it. These various financial aspects of the war show, in turn, that there is to be an honest *conscription of the wealth of the nation* also as well as of its brains.

The policy of a selective draft, applied to *men* as well as to brains and money—though it is contrary to our common tradition and has been

reached with some hesitancy by many of us—is probably the more democratic and truly advantageous policy. For this policy makes the army represent the whole nation as a purely volunteer system cannot. It is based on the principle, which ought to be plain, that all citizens owe to their country the best service they can render. It holds that the hard, dangerous, and disagreeable tasks ought not to be confined to a few or to one class, even if self-selected. The ideal of the principle of selective service, too, is that each citizen should be *used* where he can serve best, and so needless waste be avoided from the start, as it is now recognized that it was not avoided in England. The draft means also that there are to be no false and frenzied and unworthy appeals for service or a kind of pressure brought to bear that is felt most only by the morally sensitive. The principle of selective service, moreover, by recognizing the essential importance of different forms of service—army, navy, ambulance, hospital, engineering, commissary, transportation, business organization, the production of food, the educational, political, social, moral and religious

agencies—fits into that “demilitarization of war,” for which a democracy must really stand.

We need not be ashamed, either, of *the large amount that has been practically accomplished by America in the comparatively short time since she entered the war, as Mr. Balfour has generously recognized. It may be worth while to quote Current Opinion's partial summary as illustrative:*

This is what we have already done. We have authorized a bond issue of seven billions of dollars, out of which we have already loaned to the Allies—*our* Allies now—\$650,000,000 (it may be more by the time this is read) as a sort of first aid to the injured. Of this sum \$75,000,000 will go to the relief commission for the benefit of the Belgians and French (in the captured districts) at the rate of \$12,500,000 a month. We have sent over a flotilla of torpedo-boat destroyers, which was ready for service the day it reached England, and is now “on the job,” flying the flag of the United States. By the middle of last month we had begun to despatch army medical forces to France, consisting of surgeons, Red Cross nurses, ambulance drivers, etc., to equip six American

base hospitals. Nine regiments of army engineers (about 10,000 men) are being recruited for immediate service on the battle-front, and their sailing may begin any day. With them will go the first shipments of railway material for 1,250 miles of track. A division (25,000 men) of regulars and 2,500 marines, to be commanded by General Pershing, is to be despatched speedily. On May 9th a commission of American railway experts sailed for Petrograd to see and then to supply whatever is needed to restore the Russian transportation service. All this had been done within a little over a month's time after war had been declared. . . . Sixteen training-camps for officers are now at work in various parts of the country giving intensive training to about 40,000 young men to fit them for officers in the army that is to be, and thirty-two more camps are already under construction, each one to cover about a mile square and to accommodate 22,000 men—a total of 704,000 men.

It is particularly worth noting that the Secretary of War has personally pledged himself to a *new moral standard for these soldiers' training-camps*. They are to be free both from liquor and from prostitution. And under

the chairmanship of Mr. Raymond Fosdick an able committee has been formed to inaugurate a positive constructive policy in the care of the men in the campaign, a policy that shall involve positive instruction concerning social purity, abundant provision for healthful recreation, and the whole line of service for which the Young Men's Christian Association has stood. As one has said, "it is a great affirmative system, instead of a merely sterile negative one." Plans have also been made that seem likely to insure a much larger number and an unusually high quality of army chaplains.

(7) The war has also brought *new faith in the common men of all the nations*. It is significant, that Barbusse's novel, *The Fire*, which a distinguished French dramatist calls the "first great work the war has given us," and which was recently awarded the Goncourt prize of 1916, is "an ardent tribute to the mute, inglorious millions of ordinary men constrained to heroism by circumstances, brave, determined, reliable, but not imbued with any military spirit—those millions of uprooted civ-

ilians who differ in every respect from the professional soldier”:

They are not reckless of their lives, like bandits, nor blind with wrath, like savages. Despite the efforts to excite them, they are not excited. They are superior to every sort of transport. They are not drunk either literally or figuratively. They have come together, in full consciousness, as in full force and full health, to play once more the rôle imposed upon them by the madness of their kind. In their silence, in their immobility, in the masks of superhuman calm on their visages, reflection and fear and longing are discernible. They are not the sort of heroes they are popularly supposed to be; but their sacrifice is nobler than those who have not seen them will ever be able to divine.

(8) With this new faith in the heroic quality of common men, there has naturally come a like new faith in the rank and file of the nations. Men can talk no longer of degenerate France or England or of materialistic America. Belgium has proved itself possessed of a soul which she was not willing to sell. Nation after nation has refused to take the course that mere economics might dictate. Every belligerent has known that it

must defend its cause before the public opinion of the world, and has devoted immense sums and energies to that end. Even the bitterest belligerents have been obliged to learn from one another, and so tacitly at least to acknowledge the worth of their enemies. It would be dastardly treachery for the Allies to forget the unstinted service of colored races. Surely a practically demonstrable ground has thus been laid in this war for a parliament of nations—occidental and oriental, white and colored. Races who are good enough to die for a cause, are good enough to live with and in it.

“Thank God that man is more than
all his hoarded gold,
And in the storm of death his faith
and valor hold.
Thank God that peace is forging
upon the anvil war,
And a people’s truth and honor more
than riches are.”

(9) There are *specific hopes also, especially for the smaller nations*, which this war permits us to cherish, in line with the avowed aims and principles of the Entente Allies. Oh for a fairer, juster world! What Mr. Balfour says of the Central Powers, as Gibbons urges, must be said

of all the powers: their "aggressive objects and unscrupulous methods" must be "discredited in the eyes of their own peoples." Belgium and France must be fully restored, and Belgium at least truly indemnified. Ranker injustice cannot well be proposed, if less than this is done for Belgium; as even most socialists of all nations seem to believe. Serbia, too, must be restored. In general, the Balkan peninsula should be honestly guaranteed to the Balkan peoples. We should look for a new and independent Finland; for a new, united, and independent Poland. One cannot help hoping that Japan will be large enough to fulfil her original promise and hand back the Shantung peninsula to China. The unspeakable Armenian massacre should be ample demonstration that the Turk should be driven absolutely out of Europe, and that Armenia and Syria should be entirely released from Turkish rule. If any power has ever demonstrated its utter unfitness to rule over other peoples, Turkey has done so. Some true doctrine of the freedom of the seas should be wrought out and upheld by the league of nations to enforce peace—a freedom of the seas

that is not simply dependent on the favor and good-will of even the best nation, but is grounded in justice and due respect for the rights of all nations.

(10) No Christian survey of the issues and outcomes of this world war could be complete, that did not note the religious bearings of the war. It may perhaps be said, in a word, that, while the war has unquestionably shaken the religious faith of many, the faith so shaken has been in general a faith not wholly Christian in the beginning. The shallow and sentimental types of Christianity have certainly proved themselves inadequate to the world's need, and we may rejoice in it. But on the other hand there seems to be as little doubt, that the great majority of men have been irrevocably driven back to a new sense of the absolute and indispensable need of moral purpose and deep religious faith both for significant personal living and for any high civilization, and that the Christianity of Christ himself has a clearer field than ever for the conquest of the world. As Mr. Britling says, "Religion is the first thing and the last thing, and until man has found God,

and been found by God, he begins at no beginning, and works to no end." That Christian men should fail to see this great new opportunity would be disaster indeed.

But we cannot honestly cherish these great hopes for humanity, and *not work that they may come to pass*. To that end, in the first place, we need to be unceasingly vigilant that we keep steadily before us the high aims with which we entered the war, and refuse to sully those aims by any unworthy conduct of the war, and that we keep our spirits purged clean of all arrogance and hatred and bitterness. That will be no easy task.

And *by and through the war*, and not merely after it,—for now is our opportunity—we may well have steadily in mind some such war program as that briefly suggested by Mr. A. M. Simons:

Millions have died that the trampling war madness might end. It is better to see that they have not died in vain than to bewail their dying. War burdens must become a means of expropriation, not exploitation. Military mobilization at the front and in the shops and on the farms must end in democratic indus-

trial mobilization for peace. The place that has been won for labor in the parliaments of the world must be strengthened and used for the protection of workers when the war has ended. The war need for woman's services must lead to her complete political and social emancipation. The care of peoples in war must show the way to the abolition of poverty in peace.

To this program two points should be added. Perhaps no less a crisis than this world war could bring home to America the wickedness of her wastefulness, and teach her a true conservation of her resources. In this we can all help and must help. And at this hour it is particularly appropriate to add also, that for the sake of the nation's own life, there must be *no least letting down in the persistent constructive work of the educational, moral and religious agencies of the country.* The greater the crisis, the more necessary is the work of these constructive forces. Not first of all, but last of all are they to be sacrificed. For the nation and the world will never need trained young leaders more than in the years just ahead and following this war.

*Members of the Graduating Class
of 1917:*

You come to the end of your college study in stirring and fateful days;—days great in possibilities for both good and evil, days that may vitally affect your own personal interests and may even cost life, and yet days which forbid you to think simply of yourselves.

In days like these you will need every resource that your college life has opened to you:—willingness to face the facts, clearness of vision, discernment of the laws of life and obedience to them, depth of conviction, up-girding ideals and hopes, steady dedication to God's purposes for humanity.

For you come into a world-order, plastic to men's molding as never before, and in which tremendous forces are at work:—threatening, hostile forces which you must help to check and conquer; baffling ambiguous forces which you must help to harness to great constructive and humane ends; positively helpful forces in which you may rejoice, and which you must help to make still more powerful and controlling.

I would not disguise from you the critical significance and terrible cost of the years just ahead. And yet I believe you may face them with mighty hope in your hearts. For you will belong to a generation which will be challenged—as no preceding generation has ever been—to think in world terms, to feel with all humanity, and to cherish world purposes. It will be no time for intellectual slovenliness, no time for smallness and pettiness of spirit, no time for narrow selfishness, no time for littleness of faith. The very greatness of the demands upon it ought to insure that your generation will have more men and women of largeness of life than any other age has seen. May you—every one—be in their ranks!

Keep, then, the open, honest mind. Keep the tolerant, loving spirit. Cherish freedom in all its wide range, and be willing to pay its price. See and keep clear the issues of this world war in their largeness and significance. Believe and hope in the great on-going purposes of God for a new world. Work intelligently and unselfishly with God for the accomplishment of those world purposes. So shall you be sure, of that great new

civilization that is to be, that "they shall bring the glory and the honor of the nations into it."

